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AUTHOR Mills, Nicolaus
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ABSTRACT

As the history and statistics of busing indicate, the greatest demand for it has come from rural states, where population is scattered and the consolidated school district is typical. But urban and suburban areas have begun to use busing more heavily than before. Not only has busing become a safety factor in crowded urban areas or suburbs where no sidewalks exist, it has also permitted these areas to develop special schools. Virtually all attempts at unique elementary and high school education now depend on some form of busing. The final result of all this is that the school bus has come to be looked upon as anything but a necessary evil. The following five myths and fictions surrounding the current crisis over school busing offer a final chance to put the issue in perspective: (1) Busing goes against tradition and represents a break with past approaches to improving education; (2) Busing is the exception and the neighborhood school is always the most desirable; (3) The decision to bus has, until recently, not been guided by social beliefs or principles; (4) Riding on the bus is bad for children; and, (5) Busing is invariably a financial burden on the community. The heart of the busing issue is not the problem of transportation but our national commitment to equality of opportunity for all. (Author/JM)

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BUSING: WHO'S BEING TAKEN FOR A RIDE

Nicolaus Mills, Ph.D.

Research Associate

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Busing: Who's Being Taken for a Ride?

I would also like to restate my position as it relates to busing. I am against busing as that term is commonly used in school desegregation cases. I have consistently opposed the busing of our nation's school children to achieve a racial balance, and I am opposed to the busing of children simply for the sake of busing.

President Nixon, 1971[1]

All things being equal, with no history of discrimination, it might well be desirable to assign pupils to schools nearest their homes. But all things are not equal in a system that has been deliberately constructed and maintained to enforce racial segregation.

Chief Justice Warren Burger, 1971[2]

In its 1953 yearbook, the Department of Rural Education of the National Education Association offered the following description of busing: "The daily trip to and from school is an informal learning situation that reflects the feelings, the desires, the aspirations, the problems, the successes and the failures of pupils. While the morning ride carries the joys, the enthusiasm and sorrows of home, the afternoon ride from school back home brings together the reactions to the school activities of the day. . . . There is no better defined continuity of home and school life than may be observed on the bus as children leave home to ride to school and as these same children leave school in the afternoon to return home."[3] Today this description seems both naive and idyllic, and yet the surprise it causes is in considerable measure

due to the fact that the present crisis over school busing has blinded us to the degree to which busing goes beyond the issue of desegregation. We have, almost willfully it would seem, neglected to ask ourselves the most basic questions about school busing. What is its history? What is its extent? Who wants it, and who benefits most from it? The answers to these questions will not, of course, make school busing disappear as a political issue, but they do provide a chance for seeing it in perspective.

History of Busing

> The history of school bus transportation shows that it is inseparably woven into the social, economic, and industrial development of our nation.
>
> William H. Roe, School Business Management[4]

> The current controversy over school busing is surprising to those of us who have devoted our lives to public education. The school bus has been a major factor in improving the educational opportunity of hundreds of millions of American children during the last half century.
>
> Donald Morrison
> President, National Education Association[5]

Like so many of our current educational problems, busing has a much deeper history than we are accustomed to acknowledging. Its origins not only go back to a time long before desegregation but even before there were buses. In 1869 Massachusetts enacted a law authorizing the spending of public funds to carry children to and from school. The vehicles employed to do this task were, for the most part, horsedrawn wagons or carriages. Usually, a farmer in the

neighborhood was contracted to provide the horse and buggies and paid in proportion to the number of students he hauled. Interestingly enough, horsedrawn pupil transportation lasted well into the 1920's. In 1927-28, approximately 12 percent of the school transportation vehicles used in 32 states were still horse-powered rather than motor-powered.[6]

Seven years after Massachusetts passed its pupil transportation act, Vermont followed suit, and then two other New England states--Maine and New Hampshire--passed pupil transportation laws, and by 1919 pupil transportation at public expense was legal in all 48 states.[7] What were the forces behind this development? In virtually all states they were two: compulsory attendance laws based on the belief that the welfare of the state required all children to receive some education; the consolidation of school centers in rural areas which had formerly relied on inferior one-room school houses. In 31 states school consolidation laws preceded school transportation laws, and in 14 states they were passed simultaneously.[8] What they meant for rural children was that the circumstances of their lives were not to be allowed to deprive them of the kind of education city children could assume by virtue of where they lived.

Year of Statutory Authorization for School Consolidation by State, 1838-1913

Date	State	Date	State
1838	Massachusetts	1901	California
1839	Connecticut	1901	Missouri
1843	Michigan	1901	Minnesota
1844	Vermont	1901	Pennsylvania
1847	Ohio	1902	Louisiana
1853	New York	1903	Virginia
1854	Maine	1903	Tennessee
1856	Wisconsin	1903	Oregon
1857	New Hampshire	1903	Oklahoma
1861	Delaware	1904	Maryland
1873	Iowa	1905	Illinois
1873	Indiana	1907	Arizona
1885	North Carolina	1907	New Mexico
1886	New Jersey	1908	Kentucky
1889	Florida	1908	West Virginia
1889	Nebraska	1909	Colorado
1890	Washington	1910	Alabama
1893	Texas	1910	Mississippi
1896	Utah	1911	Arkansas
1896	South Carolina	1911	Georgia
1897	Kansas	1913	Montana
1898	Rhode Island	1913	South Dakota
1899	North Dakota	1913	Wyoming
1900	Idaho	1913	Nevada

Source: J. F. Abel, Consolidation of Schools and Transportation of Pupils, Bulletin No. 41 (U.S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Education: Washington, D.C., 1923), p. 22.

Year of Statutory Authorization for Public Pupil Transportation by State, 1839-1913

Date	State	Date	State
1869	Massachusetts	1903	Virginia
1876	Vermont	1904	Maryland
1880	Maine	1905	Oklahoma
1885	New Hampshire	1905	Utah
1889	Florida	1907	MIssouri
1893	Connecticut	1908	West Virginia
1894	Ohio	1909	Colorado
1895	New Jersey	1910	Mississippi
1896	New York	1911	Arkansas
1897	Iowa	1911	Georgia
1897	Nebraska	1911	Illinois
1897	Pennsylvania	1911	North Carolina
1897	Wisconsin	1912	Kentucky
1898	Rhode Island	1912	South Carolina
1899	Kansas	1912	Arizona
1899	North Dakota	1913	Idaho
1899	South Dakota	1913	Tennessee
1899	Indiana	1915	Nevada
1901	California	1915	Alabama
1901	Minnesota	1915	Texas
1901	Washington	1916	Louisiana
1903	Michigan	1917	New Mexico
1903	Montana	1919	Delaware
1903	Oregon	1919	Wyoming

Source: J. F. Abel, Consolidation of Schools and Transportation of Pupils, Bulletin No. 41, (U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education: Washington, D. C., 1923), p. 22.

In the first two decades of this century, the demand for pupil transportation rose even more, as rural population continued to decline and the school consolidation movement gathered greater acceptance. By the end of World War I, two other factors were also in operation. The first of these was the development of the automobile. The number of registered motor vehicles tripled between 1919 and 1929 and provided a new means of getting students to school. The second factor was the improvement of roads. During this period the number of surfaced roads almost doubled, with the result that transportation in bad weather became increasingly feasible.[9]

In the last twenty-five years these same factors have been among the reasons why the demand for pupil transportation has accelerated. Since the end of World War II, the number of school districts in the country has, for example, dropped from over 100,000 to 17,153.[10] In addition new forces have helped spur the growth of pupil transportation. Cities and suburban areas have shown a willingness to transport children, even though public transportation systems are often available to them, and the states themselves have increasingly asserted leadership in pupil transportation programs. This has meant not only the allocation of more funds for busing, but the assertion of more uniform safety standards, and economy measures in terms of large-scale buying of buses and transportation supplies. It has also meant that the figuring out of school bus routes has started to change from the job of local officials to that of specially trained computer operators.[11]

Extent of Busing

The extent of busing, no less than its history, goes against the assumptions which are generally made about it. As New York Times education writer Gene Maeroff recently noted, "Busing for desegregation is still only a small part of all school busing. For millions of American children who live too far from any school to walk, the institution known as the neighborhood school is not and never has been a reality."[12]

The most recent surveys put the number of students bused at 42.2 percent of all pupils in the United States. Other statistics are as follows:

Number of children bused to school	19.6 million
Cost of busing (including replacement)	$1.5 billion
Busing costs in states as percentages of total education outlays	0.7% to 6.9%
Number of buses	256,000
Number of drivers	275,000
Miles traveled per year	2.2 billion

These figures make school busing the greatest single transportation system in the country.[13] They reflect not only the quantity of school busing, however, but also its breadth, the fact that 80 percent of the school districts in the country maintain one or more vehicles for pupil transportation, with fleets in the largest districts including more than 500 vehicles and the average fleet at 15 vehicles.[14]

On a national average these figures are very consistent with the tendency in the last decade for the number of pupils bused to rise from .5 to 2.5 percent per year. They are, on the other hand, less than the percentage gains recorded over other ten year periods. The gain from 1959-60, when the number of pupils bused stood at 37.6 percent, to the present is, for example, approximately five percent. In 1949-50, on the other hand, the number of pupils transported was 27.7 percent (a change of almost ten percent), and in 1939-40 the number of pupils transported was 16.3 percent (a change in that decade of more than 11 percent). The table which follows presents these and other figures in greater detail. What it reaffirms, above all else, is the degree to which busing was a normal and accepted part of public education, long before it was thought of as a means of bringing about desegregation.

Growth of School Transportation in America

Year	Number of Pupils Transported	Percent of Total Pupils in U. S. Transported
1919-1920	356,000	1.7
1921-1922	594,000	2.6
1923-1924	837,000	3.4
1925-1926	1,112,000	4.5
1927-1928	1,251,000	5.0
1929-1930	1,903,000	7.4
1931-1932	2,419,000	9.2
1933-1934	2,795,000	10.6
1935-1936	3,251,000	12.3
1937-1938	3,769,000	14.5
1939-1940	4,144,000	16.3
1941-1942	4,503,000	18.3
1943-1944	4,410,000	19.0
1945-1946	5,057,000	21.7
1947-1948	5,854,000	24.4
1949-1950	6,947,000	27.7
1951-1952	7,697,000	29.0
1953-1954	8,411,000	32.8
1955-1956	9,969,000	35.0
1957-1958	10,862,000	36.5
1959-1960	12,225,000	37.6
1961-1962	13,223,000	38.1
1963-1964	14,476,000	38.7
1965-1966	15,537,000	39.7
1967-1968	17,131,000	42.0

Note: Number of Pupils transported rounded to nearest thousand. Percentages from unrounded figures.

Sources: Stephen J. Knezevich and John Guy Fowlkes, Business Management of Local School Systems (Harper and Row: New York, 1960), p. 293. National Commission on Safety Education, National Education Association. U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Who Wants and Benefits from Busing?

In fact, most of it [school busing in New York State] occurs in predominantly white suburban and rural areas where parents pay handsomely, either directly or indirectly, for what they consider the privilege.

The Fleischmann Commission on Education in New York[15]

Over a period of years there have been substantial improvements in rural education. Many of them have been in the past 20 years--since the end of World War II. Only a few rural children still attend what traditionally was the "little red schoolhouse." Most now ride school buses to a consolidated school.

Robert Isenberg
Associate Executive Secretary,
American Association of School Administrators[16]

As the history and statistics of busing indicate, the greatest demand for it has come from rural states, where population is scattered and the consolidated school district is typical. There are now many states which transport almost 100 percent of those rural pupils who meet the distance standards set up by the state as a requirement for transportation, and it is not uncommon to find rural schools in which more than 95 percent of all pupils enrolled come to school in a bus.[17] In states like Maine, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, more than 60 percent of all students are bused to school daily, and in Vermont, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Idaho, and Oregon the percentages are not far behind. When one reads the educational literature put out by such states, it is also apparent that busing is an activity in which great pride is taken. As an

essay written by the State Board of Education on "Pupil Transportation in North Carolina" notes, "As long as we accepted a narrow and limited eucation as satisfactory, the State discharged this responsibility primarily through the establishment of a small school within walking distance to most pupils. But demands on the school for a broadened program increased. . . . These and other factors have resulted in transportation of pupils to and from school becoming one of the most important of the auxiliary activities of the school."[18] Indeed, for those most sensitive to rural education problems, the need for greater busing has only increased of late. As Robert Isenberg noted in testimony before the Select Committee on Educational Opportunity of the United States Senate, "Too many of the school systems in rural America still lack the capability of providing a quality education program. We need an improved delivery system."[19]

The demand and need for more busing cannot, however, be confined to rural areas. As E. Glenn Featherston and D. P. Culp note in their massive study of Pupil Transportation, urban and suburban areas have begun to use busing more heavily than before.[20] Not only has busing become a safety factor in crowded urban areas or suburbs where no sidewalks exist, it has also permitted these areas to develop special schools, designed to serve pupils with common interests rather than merely those who live together. At present some of the largest bus fleets in the country are those operating in and around urban areas.

Indeed, the urban trend towards specialized schools points up the fact that virtually all attempts at unique elementary and high school education now depend

on some form of busing. Whether one has in mind an elite private school, like The Chapin School in New York, where most lower and middle school children ride the bus, or an educational complex that depends on the pooling of a wide variety of resources, the bus is critical.[21] The parochial schools of this country, which have continually gone to court in order to have their children transported at public expense, provide perhaps the best-known example of the close ties between busing and special education. They have continually argued that their viability depends on pupil transportation, and they have been instrumental in getting state school boards to transport nonpublic school students at public expense. Four states, Delaware, New Jersey, New York, and Wisconsin, have Constitutions which authorize such transportation, and a number of other states have statutory provisions for school boards to transport nonpublic school students at public expense.[22]

Busing in urban areas also has been and is being used to deal with the opposite population problem rural areas have--overcrowding. In cities where shifts in population have made it impossible for neighborhood schools to cope with an influx of students, busing to less crowded areas has been adopted. St.Louis provides a classic case of this. There busing was used as an alternative to having double-sessions, which would have set one set of children free in the morning and another set in the afternoon. For those transported, the benefits of the program were obvious, but they were not the only beneficiaries. As a report to the Superintendent of St. Louis Schools emphasized, "reduction os class size, through bus transportation and other expediencies. . .made it possible for nontransported as well as transported children

residing in the districts of these seriously overcrowded schools to suffer minimal education loss."[23]

While demographic and geographic forces, coupled with the need for more sophisticated kinds of education, provide the major impetus for school busing, they do not tell the whole story, however. Forty-three states have provision for the transportation of children with handicaps--either emotional or physical. The range of categories extends from those suffering retardation to those who are deaf and blind, and the most common provision is for the distance requirement to be waived with regard to the busing of such children. In any number of states these transportation programs are both expensive and thorough. In Illinois, for example, over 9,000 handicapped children are transported daily to and from their schools under arrangements other than regular school bus services. The state pays local districts as much as half the cost, up to the sum of $400 per year per child.[24]

The final result of all this is that the school bus has come to be looked upon as anything but a necessary evil. More and more schools are using it not merely to get students to class but for curriculum trips and extracurricular activities. It is not uncommon to find educators referring to the bus as "an extending arm of the classroom," or to see an increasing number of studies which show bus trips themselves enlarging the student's horizon.[25]

Myths and Realities

The Select Committee, incidentally, has figures that reveal George Wallace for the demagogue he is on the busing issue. For Mississippi, South Carolina and Mr. Wallace's own Alabama, there has been a decrease of 2 to 3 percent in each state in the total number of students bused since the 1967-68 school year. Before that schools in these states were almost entirely segregated. . . .

Tom Wicker[26]

Granting that busing is inconvenient for everyone, do you see busing as a legitimate means to achieve quality education for all?

Yes -- 23 percent
No -- 75 percent
No opinion -- 2 percent

Illinois Poll of Senator Charles Percy[27]

With these observations in mind it becomes possible to turn to the current crisis over school busing and begin to sort out the myths and fictions which have surrounded it. Five of these myths may, I think, be said to stand out from the others and offer a final chance to put the school bus issue in perspective.

1) Busing goes against tradition and represents a break with past approaches to improving education: The fact that the first pupil transportation bills were passed in the nineteenth century and that by the conclusion of World War I all the states had passed legislation on pupil transportation provides the clearest refutation of the idea that school busing is somehow untraditional.

What is equally important to remember, however, is that school busing has traditionally been regarded as a way of equalizing educational opportunity. It has distinctly gone against the notion that children who live in areas where population factors make it hard to receive a quality education should be forced to "make do." State boards of education have traditionally argued that consolidation and the need for improved education are at the root of busing. To quote from the literature of three states, Arkansas, Alabama, and Mississippi, normally associated with antibusing sentiment: "Arkansas is now, and will long continue to be, predominantly a rural state. The rural children must be educated in standard schools, which, of course, is impossible with a one and two-teacher school system. Large schools will have to be maintained where teachers who are specialists may be provided. . . . The transportation of children to school at public expense is now generally accepted by constituted educational authorities as a function of the state school system." "Most of our area in Alabama is rural; therefore, it became necessary to provide students with transportation to centers where they could receive the best possible education." "The public school districts of Mississippi, with few exceptions, own and operate their bus fleets. . . . The great majority of pupils being transported is due to school consolidation and the rural make up of this state."[28] There is nothing, it should be emphasized, that is unusual in these statements. One could find such sentiments in the literature of most any state with a high degree of school busing.

2) Busing is the exception and the neighborhood school is always the most desirable: With the number of bused school children now 19.6 million and the percentage of bused children at 42.2 percent, it is no longer possible to regard busing as unusual. The same is also true for recent gains in busing. On a national scale they are no greater than gains over the past decade, and less in terms of percentages than gains in other decades. In this regard it is also relevant to note that in areas protesting most strongly about racial busing, there is often a long history of busing and a long history of disregard for neighborhood school patterns. The case of Charlotte-Mecklenburg provides a perfect example. As the Supreme Court noted in its 1971 ruling, the Charlotte school suthorities did not purport to assign students on the basis of geographically drawn zones until 1965, and then they allowed almost unlimited transfer privileges. Moreover, the system as a whole, without regard to desegregation plans, intended to bus approximately 23,000 students in 1971, for an average daily round trip of 15 miles. More elementary school children than high school children were to be bused, and four and five-year-olds were scheduled for the longest routes in the system.[29] Charlotte-Mecklenburg is not, of course, unusual. All across the country the neighborhood school has become an educationally less viable institution for reasons generally having nothing to do with desegregation.

3) The decision to bus has, until recently, not been guided by social beliefs or principles: The history of pupil transportation offers the most con-

clusive refutation of this notion. The growth of pupil transportation is inseparable from the belief that education is required for the social welfare of the country and offers a chance for individual social advancement. Ironically, it is the South which provides the most dramatic case of bus transportation being used to support a set of social values. The dual school system of the South would not have been possible without an elaborate pupil transportation system. As G. W. Foster, a former consultant to the Office of Education and a professor of law, has noted, "In dual school systems it has been customary in many instances for separate buses to travel the same roads, one to pick up Negroes for the Negro school and the other to take whites to a different school. Again separate bus routes for Negro and white students have operated in some instances to place individual children of either or both races under the burden of going to a distant pick-up point when a pick-up point for the opposite race was much more convenient."[30] What busing to achieve desegregation represents is, thus, not an unprecedented attempt to introduce social values to the concept of pupil transportation but an attempt to introduce social values which stir opposition.

4) Riding on the school bus is bad for children: There are certainly occasions when long distance riding places a hardship on students, and the courts have been especially sensitive to this problem in ordering busing. Except when busing involves desegregation, this problem is rarely raised, however. When one surveys the state literature on busing, it is apparent that

the bus ride to and from school is seen as a pleasant part of the school day. The most frequent warnings in this area are against children being carried away by their play and becoming a hazard to the bus driver. Again, the attitude of the South towards busing is most revealing when one considers its reputed bad effects. As the U. S. Civil Rights Commission has noted, in the South "in many cases, busing was the exclusive privilege of white children--black children ofter were required to walk considerable distances. No complaints then were heard from whites of any harmful [busing] effects."[31] Indeed, rather than being bad for children, busing per se has shown itself a safety factor as well as a health factor.

5) Busing is invariably a financial burden on a community: In a number of instances racial busing certainly has introduced a specific expense which a community did not have when it had segregated schools. But it cannot be assumed that increased busing--racial or otherwise--is automatically a drain on a community. The busing which eliminated the one-room school house was a financial saving for the community, and busing for desegregation purposes can often be the same. In the case of a dual school system, busing not only eliminates overlapping bus routes but the kinds of inefficiencies the Civil Rights Commission found in Alabama when it discovered, for example, that black students in Selma, seeking to attend trade school, were bused 50 miles to Montgomery to a nearly all-black trade school rather than allowed to attend an all-white trade school in Selma.[32] In the

North, the savings made possible by busing for desegregation purposes are often harder to locate, but they are nonetheless present in a number of situations. For example, when the choice is between attempting to improve education through compensatory funding of schools or busing for integration, the latter is frequently the more economical choice. In testimony before the Senate's Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, Dr. Wayne Carle, Superintendent of Schools in Dayton, Ohio, noted how in his city busing that made desegregation possible cost on a per pupil basis less than half of what compensatory funding did and was much more effective in improving education.[33] A second example of the economy of busing is to be found in New York City, where Dan Dodson, professor of education at New York University, has proposed a plan that would involve busing 215,000 students in order to achieve desegregation. In his plan a large share of the cost would be made up for by the use of underutilized schools in areas outside Manhattan.[34]

In its resolution on busing, the recent National Black Political Convention has shown that very telling arguments from another perspective can be raised in opposition to busing to achieve ethnic integration. It would, however, be a mistake to place the Convention's arguments with those of the "pro-segregation" camp. For what the Convention has made clear is that at the heart of the busing issue is not the problem of transportation but our national commitment to equality of opportunity for all. In the current political climate, the sad fact is that this concern for the equalization of opportunity has been all but ignored, while busing and its history have been shoved out of perspective.

Footnotes

1. Statement by the President, Issued by the White House (August 3, 1971).

2. Opinion of the Supreme Court in Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg (April 20, 1971), pp. 23-24.

3. Cited in William H. Roe, School Business Management (McGraw-Hill: New York, 1961), p. 231.

4. Ibid. p. 227.

5. Included in Appendix 2, Hearings Before the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity of the United States Senate, Part 18--Pupil Transportation Costs (October 6, 1971), pp. 9365-9366.

6. Stephen J. Knezevich and John Guy Fowlkes, Business Management of Local School Systems (Harper and Row: New York, 1960), p. 292.

7. Ralph A. Forsythe, The Legal Status of Pupil Transportation in the Public Schools of the U. S. (Office of Education: Washington, D. C., 1969), p. 5.

8. M. C. S. Noble, War-Time Pupil Transportation (National Highway Users Conference, Washington, D. C., 1944), p. 13

9. Ralph A. Forsythe, The Legal Status of Pupil Transportation, p. 5

10. Hearings Before the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity of the United States Senate, Part 15--Education in Rural America (Sept. 1, 2, 3, 1971) p. 6333

11. E. Glenn Featherston and D. P. Culp, Pupil Transportation: State and Local Programs (Harper and Row: New York, 1965), pp. 7-9. "A Quantitave Approach to the Design of School Bus Routes," Paper presented by George Tracy at the Annual Meeting of American Educational Research Association (Minneapolis, 1970).

12. Gene I. Maeroff, "School Bus, an Old American Stand-By, Stirs Tension as a Vehicle of Change," The New York Times (January 10, 1972), p. 4.

13. Figures from U. S. Department of Transportation, School Management and National Education Association, compiled in The New York Times (January 10, 1972), p. 5.

14. Idem.

15. Quoted in The New York Post (February 9, 1972), p. 46.

16. Statement made in Hearings Before the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity of the United States Senate, Part 15--Education in Rural America, p. 6329.

17. E. Glenn Featherston and D. P. Culp, Pupil Transportation, p. 5.

18. State Board of Education, Pupil Transportation in North Carolina (Raleigh, n. d.), p. 1.

19. Hearings Before the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity of the United States Senate, Part 15--Education in Rural America, p. 6329.

20. E. Glenn Featherston and D. P. Culp, Pupil Transportation, p. 9.

21. Chapin figures from letter to ERIC Center by Mrs. Charles G. Berendsen, Headmistress. (December 29, 1971).

22. Ralph A. Forsythe, The Legal Status of Pupil Transportation, p. 14.

23. Progress Report on Bus Transportation Study for St. Louis Board of Education (May 28, 1962), p. 8.

24. David Donald, "Special Training of Handicapped Children," (Springfield, January 25, 1972), pp. 41-42.

25. William H. Roe, School Business Management, p. 244.

26. Tom Wicker, "Substitute for Busing?" The New York Times (February 27, 1972), p. E13.

27. Senator Charles Percy, Annual Report 1971, p. 4.

28. Harry A. Little, Public Transportation of School Pupils in Arkansas (Arkansas State Department of Education: Little Rock, 1930), p. 1. Letter from Lewis G. McGee, Consultant School Transportation, State of Alabama Department of Education (January 13, 1972). Letter from Walter L. Corban, Assistant Supervisor, Pupil Transportation, State of Mississippi Department of Education (January 10, 1972).

29. Opinion of the Supreme Court in Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg, pp. 25-26.

30. G. W. Foster, Jr., "Title VI: Southern Education Faces the Facts," Saturday Review (March 20, 1965), p. 77.

31. Statement of the United States Commission on Civil Rights Concerning the "Statement by the President on Elementary and Secondary School Desegregation," (National Education Association: Washington, D. C., 1970), p. 9.

32. Ibid, p. 10.

33. Hearings Before the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity of the United States Senate, Part 18--Pupil Transportation Costs, p. 9043.

34. The New York Times (November 26, 1971), p. 3.

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